593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife
512 on one mat with a single blanket. Small children under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of
517 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or
[132] rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people. After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for steal-
[584] ing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young

512 unmarried men may not come home until 9 or
517 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they feed themselves with cold food left for them.

On Monday the men and young men go to
512 the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9
462 o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always includes tortillas and chile and likely includes remnants of the previous day's meal such as *sopa de tortilla*. If the men are going out all day and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill and carry whatever water is needed during the morning. They may also buy some vegetables at the market, although most will have done this at the Saturday market. They may shop for meat and other needed items at the store. The main housework will be sweeping and putting the sleeping mats in the "*troje*." Then the woman will start work on the midday meal for herself and children (earlier if she is to take dinner to the fields, which she will do if her husband is working within an hour's walk). This meal is apt to be quite simple if the husband is not home. Some women make tortillas before dinner and again before supper. Others will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After dinner, following about an hour's rest, these women will make up a supply of tortillas sufficient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may be set at this work. In any case, probably 2 hours will be put in making tortillas and preparing supper. Men who went for firewood will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock, others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed for other reasons may come in after dark. The men of the family will eat together; the women and children usually eat together but after the men. Before he eats, a man may have to water and feed his animals, unless there is a small boy who can do it.

After supper a man will often go out on the
517 street for about an hour to loaf and talk to
512 friends. Young men will go out and stay longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

Some families vary the schedule given above.
512 In a fair number of cases the men of the family
462 rise before the women and go to the fields without breakfast. The woman in this case

512 462 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds it herself, in the meantime making atole. The men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*). Usually the women and children already have eaten, but some women wait until their husbands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case they leave home at 8 and do not return until about 2. There is no regular wash day for all of Cherán, but each woman usually has a regular wash day. Customarily women bathe when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday are much the same, the main variation being in the time of washing. Some younger girls and [869] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock for doctrinal training from Monday through Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys also go to school.

Saturday the men come home early, usually [517] by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is a small market in the plaza and women shop and talk there between about 5 and 7. Sometimes a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes home with her, or seeing her leave he may follow a few minutes later. Saturday night supper is the best meal of the week. It features fish, if possible, and there may be special treats such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane, avocados, or other items, depending on the season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10, and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 462 In some ways the activities of men are less varied and complex than those of the women. A man works at his fields or his trade as it is necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes for firewood or does odd jobs about the house. He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does other municipal jobs when called upon to do so. In his free time he may sit about home or go out on the streets or to the plaza.

517 159 It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor, broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Young men, of course, spend more time in recreation than do older people. Agustín Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat extreme case, remembered the following activities:

517 159 574 Agustín arrived in Cherán from the United States on January 25, 1940. For 17 days he did not eat at home. There were no fiestas but he was "taken around." He was brought chocolate and bread before he got up. February 5 there was a wedding, which he attended for a while in the evening and part of the next day. February 6 was Carnival and he went on horseback to Nahuatzen, where he followed the music about for a time. In March, during Holy Week, he went to church Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He spent some time watching the *Judíos* chase small boys with their spears. The boys blew whistles to annoy them. Between Carnival and Holy Week there were several weddings, but he did not attend any of them for more than an hour or two. At the fiesta of the Octava following Holy Week he spent 4 days going about with the musicians. He spent 3 days at a fiesta in Nahuatzen, coming home each night. At Corpus he spent 4 days, following the music and visiting various parties. He spent 1 day at the *carguero's* house on the day of San José, April 10. After Corpus he spent a whole day at one wedding and an hour or two at another. On San Juan's day, June 24, he spent the whole day watching the horse racing and other activities. On the day of San Pedro in June he ate posole at various houses and walked around all day. In August he spent 2 more days at another fiesta in Nahuatzen and spent an evening and a day in connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves. He also attended three weddings, spending an entire day at each. In September he visited the Ahuiran fiesta for 1 day. In October he spent 4 days at the fiesta of the patron saint in Cherán. A half day was spent at the Huansito fiesta in La Cañada. The Day of the Dead was almost all spent at the graveyard and at people's homes. In December he danced with the *negrito* dancers for 4 days and in January danced with the *viejos* or *Europeos* for 4 days (he did not count any of the practice time which was in the evenings). In January he spent 1 day at a wedding..

517 Another informant, between 40 and 50 years of age, spent the following time in fiestas:

Carnival, 2-3 hours
Wedding, 1 day
Holy Week, 3 days at church

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517

Octava, 4 days
Corpus, 4 days
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
San Juan, 1 day
San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little fiesta; got drunk)
Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
Wedding, 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
Wedding, 1 day
Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

462 Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions.
312 While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the
[482] hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are always carried on the left shoulder on top of the *rebozo*, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may
462 be presented by giving a number of actual

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.200a]

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

● 517 Most adults possess a fairly common set of
523 likes and dislikes, some of which have been developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

517 [273] drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk outside the fiestas and weddings.

517 533 Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

517 Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

517 525 Some men like gambling for small sums. Gambling devices at fiestas are always well patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5 men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

517 [276]

291 Tastes are fixed even in some matters of dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

291 unmarried girls put the brightest outside; married women wear the darkest outside.

521 Undoubtedly the greatest amusement in
517 Cherán is simply talking. Both men and women gather in their spare time and talk by the hour. Most of the talk is gossip. Who has recently done what, the price of corn, the condition of the crops, the change in the weather, forthcoming events, the problems of the church, the progress of the war, what one would do if the Germans came to Cherán—all the everyday things of life and a great deal of speculation about the unknown form subjects of conversation. The North American members of the staff found two questions most common in 1940 and 1941—what were the chances of getting work if one went to the United States, especially since the rearmament program, and what did we think of the progress of the war. Particularly on the subject of the war and its economic repercussions for Cherán did men seem surprisingly well-informed, considering the few who read and the scarcity of newspapers.

538 With all the talk that goes on in Cherán for amusement's sake, one would expect to find an important repertory of tales. This is not the case. No doubt one could collect a body of tales if one cultivated the older people assiduously. The tales that were found were few, and the majority of them circled about hidden treasure. In addition, there were a few dealing with supernatural happenings and some fragments about the founding of Cherán. Even these prosaic stories had to be sought for diligently and were told badly and in obviously incomplete form. Most persons questioned could not recall any specific occasion on which tales had been told, nor did they know any stories themselves. Story telling is not a significant part of the culture of Cherán.

OLD AGE

887 The transition from adult to old age is not
886 a clear one in Cherán. In general, parents whose children are all grown up, married, and moved away from home are not necessarily "old" by Cherán standards. At least one individual apparently over 80 years old was encountered who still did his own farm work, was completely self-supporting, and an inde-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 269] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 Different towns have reputations for
535 giving dances in which they excel, and these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
796 vanced stage of secularization. Their social and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

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13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

[P. 51-b] Sierra Pátzcuaro

222 mestizo towns nearby for the manufacture of scrubbing brushes. This activity is not peculiar to Tarascans, for it is carried on by both mestizos and Indians in high altitudes of the Mesa Central where the grass grows in abundance.

263 222 Before the eruption of Paricutin in 1943, honey gathering was an important collecting activity in the Sierra. The heavy fall of volcanic ash killed or drove away all wild bees in the area, terminating the ancient trade of the *panaleros*, or honey gatherers. Formerly there were 15 *panaleros* in Urapicho, and several in Cherán and Tanaco. In the spring of 1946 it was rumored in some pueblos farthest from the volcano that a few swarms of bees were returning. (See Beals, 1946, pp. 13–14, for a description of honey collecting in the Sierra.)

HUNTING ACTIVITIES

224 In pre-Conquest times hunting formed a significant part of the food quest among the Tarascans. Deer, rabbit, and grouse were hunted in the Sierra, while migratory waterfowl, chiefly ducks, were taken in the Lake area (Relación de Michoacán, p. 15). Today only duck hunting on Lake Pátzcuaro still has economic importance, and there it is limited chiefly to fishers—the islanders and some *rancheros* on the Tzintzuntzan Peninsula. Nine varieties of migratory ducks (principally of the genera *Nyroca*, *Marecca*, and *Nettion*) are recognized by the fishermen. Customarily bird hunting starts on the Día de los Muertos fiestas (October 31 and November 1), when as many as 100 ducks are killed by a single hunter, and continues until the departure of the flocks in late March. The p'atámu, or spear propelled with the 411 throwing stick (*ɟapáki*, or the Nahuatl *atlatl*), is still employed by many duck hunters. The spear, with a *carrizo* handle 3 m. long, carries 3 points, called the *fuga* (k'anéta), each 7 cm. in length (fig. 5). Old flintlocks (*carabinas de chispa*) are also used by the Urandén islanders, but many modern hunters from Janitzio possess modern shotguns. Ducks are eaten in the Lake pueblos and many are sold in Pátzcuaro. Waterfowl are hunted by Tarascans likewise in the Zacapu Basin.

224 In the Sierra, hunting is looked upon as a
[517] pastime by most modern Indians. Men and boys often hunt deer, squirrels, and rabbits with flintlocks and some modern rifles. Game, however, is largely depleted in the Sierra. Beals

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 52b--Ames]